

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. -- James Monroe

VOLUME XIII, NUMBER 20

WASHINGTON, D. C.

FEBRUARY 14, 1944

Soldier Vote Poses Difficult Problems

Facts Discourage Hope of Wide Distribution of Ballots by States Alone

NATION DIVIDED ON ISSUE

Compromise of Federal-State Cooperation Claimed to Offer Only Workable Solution

Shall our servicemen at home and abroad be permitted to vote in the elections next November? When the question is stated in that way, the answer is a resounding "yes." There is general agreement that the men in camps over here and those who are on the battle fronts should vote if they care to do so. It is agreed that they should not be disfranchised simply because they have been taken away from their homes to serve their country.

But what provisions shall be made for their voting? How are the ballots to be distributed to them and brought back home? What machinery is to be set up for that purpose? The answers to these questions are not simple. The problem is complex and difficult. As we go to press, Congress is in the midst of a fight about the question, and the debate over it is angry and bitter. It has been a long time since an issue has stirred up so much partisanship and sectionalism, and since debates in Congress have been characterized by so much ill temper.

Federal vs. State Plans

A number of bills have been introduced to provide for soldier voting, and countless amendments have been suggested for the measures under consideration. If, however, we cut away the details, two widely differing plans stand out sharply. One of them is known as the Federal Plan and the other the States' Rights Plan. As we go to press, the Federal Plan has secured the favor of the Senate by a small majority, while the States' Rights Plan has been adopted by a larger majority in the House.

The Eastland-Rankin Bill, embodying the States' Rights Plan, has been adopted by the House of Representatives. In brief, its provisions are as follows: Servicemen, whether in the United States or abroad, are given the opportunity to make application to their own state officials for ballots so that they can vote in the November elections. The secretary of war, the secretary of the navy, and the administrator of the War Shipping Administration are called upon to distribute postcards to all the servicemen. When a soldier (or other serviceman) receives one of these cards, he fills it out giving his name and home address and the address to which the ballot is to be sent. The Army and Navy officers collect the postcards, group them according to states, and send them back to the secretaries of state of all

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Raymond Clapper

Raymond Clapper

By Walter E. Myer

It is not often that a single week marks the loss of two such distinguished journalists as William Allen White and Raymond Clapper, or of two Americans of any vocation, who stood so high in the esteem and affection of the American public. Lewis Gannett said in the New York Herald Tribune that "Will White was the newspaper world's most beloved editor, not just one of them. There isn't an 'also ran' that you could name after him, I don't think there is one in the whole history of American newspapers."

If, on the day of Mr. White's death, an observant student of the American scene had been asked to name a younger writer who was achieving a place comparable to that held by the great Kansas editor in the affections of newspapermen and millions of readers throughout the nation, Raymond Clapper would surely have been widely acclaimed.

Mr. Clapper was making an important contribution to sound thinking on the issues of these troubled times. As a newspaper columnist and radio commentator, he presented to millions of readers and listeners an honest, reasonable, impartial appraisal of national and international events and developments. He wrote each day about issues as he saw them. Sometimes, as new facts presented themselves, he changed his mind. When that happened, he did not hesitate to admit error. He made no claim to infallibility, did not worship consistency, but gave his readers at all times the best of his thought. Readers sensed his honesty, appreciated it, and valued his comments all the more.

Never did Raymond Clapper resort to trickery to gain an effect. His writings were simple and straightforward. Above all, they were characterized by reasonableness and sound judgment. When he dealt with the most heated and controversial of issues, he avoided sarcasm or ridicule. He analyzed the issues calmly and with unflinching respect for facts.

Not many political commentators succeeded so well as he in the fair and informative analysis of controversial issues. That is why his death is such a heavy loss to the nation. It is certain that we will pass through turbulent times before we arrive at an era of relative tranquillity. Issues of transcendent importance must be met in the years before us. There will be issues highly charged with emotion. Debate will too often be angry and unreasonable. At such times, we will miss the calm, sure voice and the sane counsel of Raymond Clapper. Fortunately the influence which he exerted on the thinking of millions of readers and listeners will far outlive him. His spirit of honest inquiry, of courage and devotion to the common welfare will long be a force for good in American life.

Mystery Surrounds Recent Soviet Acts

Stalin's Motive in Granting Autonomy to 16 Soviet Republics Is Debated

FAR-REACHING EFFECTS SEEN

Plan May Be Used to Extend Russian Influence in Europe and in Peace Organization

The rest of the world is still frankly puzzled over the meaning and significance of the announcement from Moscow that hereafter the 16 republics of the Soviet Union will enjoy a large degree of independence. Each of the republics is to be allowed to maintain its own army and largely to determine its own foreign policy. Each will be permitted, for example, to make treaties with foreign nations, and it is assumed that instead of sending one ambassador to represent the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as has been the case up to the present, there will be stationed in foreign capitals 16 ambassadors.

It is significant that among the 16 republics included in the Soviet Union, there are five which include territory that was outside of Russia in 1939. These include the Baltic states—Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia—Moldavia, which includes the province of Bessarabia, disputed between Russia and Rumania ever since the last war; and the section of Finland which was taken by Russia in the Finnish war of 1939-1940. Some of this territory is still occupied by the Nazis.

Soviet Purposes

On the surface, it would appear that this move is in the direction of greater freedom and more democracy for the peoples of the Soviet Union. But the Americans and British are a little skeptical of the move; are afraid that Russia has ulterior motives in taking the step at this time. They fear that she is trying to strengthen her position at the peace conference and in the postwar world organization.

While neither the American nor the British government has spoken officially on this latest Soviet move, observers in both countries point out that the granting of greater power to the 16 republics may be a device by which Russia hopes to legalize the incorporation of adjoining territory without interference from other nations.

The question of Russia's western frontier has been one of the greatest sources of controversy since the outbreak of the war. The Russians have let it be known that they will tolerate no interference in the establishment of this frontier—in the case of the Baltic states as well as Poland. Now, if the Russians can point out that the Baltic states and eastern Poland have joined the larger federation as autonomous republics, they may feel that

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The Disease of Fascism

NO event of the war, with the possible exception of the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, has so shocked and angered the American people as did the report of the barbaric treatment of American prisoners in the Philippines. Who was responsible for this barbaric, fiendish crime—the Japanese people or their fanatical leaders? Are the majority of Japanese people themselves of a savage character, or have they been poisoned and hypnotized by the insane ideas and actions of the nation's ruling group?

These questions have stirred widespread discussion among informed observers since we were first attacked by Japan, and the discussion has become greatly intensified in the last two weeks. Opinion is divided over this issue. Some students of the problem believe that the Japanese people are as cruel and uncivilized as their leaders. Others think that most of the Japanese are little different in character from other Oriental peoples, but are merely victims of their own ruthless military rulers and the philosophy which has been imposed upon them by these leaders.

Nearly every informed observer is agreed upon one point, however, and that is this: However inherently bad the Japanese people may or may not be, they have been made far worse and more dangerous by the propaganda, education, and training imposed upon them by their military and political leaders. There is a great similarity between the Japanese and the German systems.

Both Hitler and Tojo have, in war and peace, taken their rules from the same book—the book of fascism. Many other nations, such as Italy, Rumania, and Hungary, to mention only a few, have also followed these same rules. In every case, the results have been the same—widespread cruelty and mass murder. Fascism is a disease which barbarizes peoples and nations. And like many other diseases, it can, if not dealt with scientifically and forcefully, spread rapidly until it reaches epidemic proportions.

A great many Americans could not believe this until their own countrymen became victims of fascist-infected soldiers. It is regrettable but only natural for a nation to feel more deeply about what happens to its own people than it does about what happens to others.

That is why we were not sufficiently aroused to act when the Japa-

nese militarists, beginning as early as 1931, tortured and murdered many times as many Chinese as they later did Americans.

That is why we were only mildly stirred when the Italian fascists massacred thousands of defenseless Ethiopians and Albanians.

That is why we were sympathetic, but not enraged, when the Nazis tortured their own racial and religious minorities, murdered and enslaved hundreds of thousands of Poles, perpetrated incredible crimes against countless numbers of Russian civilians.

That is why many Americans still believed that the war was none of our business when German planes cruelly strafed thousands of panic-stricken civilians—men, women, and children—who fled their homes and took to the highways in Belgium, France, and the Netherlands early in this war.

We need to study fascism in every detail—its symptoms, its methods of thriving, its characteristics. We need to understand it thoroughly in order to combat it effectively, and also to understand why and how men can behave as the Germans and Japanese, as well as the normally peace-loving Italians, have behaved during recent years.

Young fascists in Germany, Japan, and elsewhere have been taught to live and die for the state, to glorify war, to be heartless and inhuman against their "enemies." They are trained to hold human life cheaply. They are taught to believe that they are members of a master race destined to rule all others. They are instilled with the idea that the individual means nothing, except insofar as he can contribute to the power and glory of the nation.

The only hope of world peace in the future is for the anti-fascist peoples in all nations to work together and fight against this disease wherever it has a foothold or threatens to gain one. Whenever a group in any country adopts fascist methods or spreads fascist ideas, the rest of us should be on guard and should be as forceful in combating such a group as its members are in striving for power. We should never again shut our eyes to their evil doings just because we may not be immediately affected, for we have learned the bitter lesson that if the disease of fascism is permitted to become well rooted, it will eventually spread until it engulfs and victimizes people in all lands.



Franz von Papen

W. W.

Master Nazi Intriguer

Franz von Papen

WHENEVER there is a rumor of a German peace feeler, it is likely to be linked to the name of Franz von Papen, who, perhaps more than anyone else, symbolizes the sinister quality of German diplomatic intrigue. Thus during the recent reports of undercover negotiations between the Germans and the British, on the one hand, and with the Russians on the other, von Papen's name frequently crept in as the possible Nazi agent. Since the spring of 1939, von Papen has been German ambassador to Turkey and from this neutral country he has been in a key position to engage in what seems to be his favorite occupation: diplomatic intrigue.

The beginning of the First World War found von Papen in the United States as military attache to the embassy in Washington. He was largely responsible for directing sabotage and spy work until, in 1915, a British agent exposed his intrigues.

It was only after he and some of his fellow workers had been expelled from this country that the full extent of their plotting was discovered. It came out that his agents had been directed to blow up the Welland Canal and that others were secretly negotiating to start trouble in Mexico.

Returning to Germany, von Papen went back to military life. He spent a short period on the western front and then proceeded to Palestine, where he was placed in charge of a Turkish army until the British occupied the country, destroying most of the Turkish troops.

But political conspiracy was von Papen's real interest. After the war, he quickly became a power in the new German government. An outspoken monarchist and reactionary, he participated in several plots to overthrow the moderate leaders of pre-Hitler Germany.

In 1932, von Papen was at the height of his power. A friend of the aging President von Hindenburg, he persuaded and bargained his way into the chancellorship. He struggled to maintain his position in the face of growing opposition from Hitler and his storm troopers.

Early in 1933, von Papen found himself out of power and an old line Junker general, von Schleicher, in the chancellor's seat. Thinking that

he might get back his lost leadership, he made a deal with Hitler, persuading some of his wealthy industrialist friends to contribute large sums of money to the Nazi treasury.

But when von Schleicher was removed, it was Hitler who became chancellor, with von Papen as merely vice-chancellor. As the power of the Nazis increased, his position became difficult. At that time, the bewildered German people thought that the new regime was going to give them social reforms. They agitated against keeping such reactionaries as von Papen in the cabinet.

Von Papen's plans had miscarried—he found himself disliked on all sides. He made a speech calling for a return to free speech and the ways of the old Germany under a new monarchy. This move nearly cost him his life. Von Papen was beaten up by Hitler's Elite Guard and only saved from death by the intervention of von Hindenburg and old-line members of the German army.

The unsuccessful conspirator gave up at that point, and resigned his position as vice-chancellor. At the moment Hitler refused to accept it, but soon found a new use for von Papen's talents as a schemer. In August, 1934, he sent him to Austria as a special envoy to restore friendly relations between that unhappy nation and Germany.

In Austria, von Papen was completely successful. In characteristic fashion, he paved the way for the betrayal of Austria. After the conference he arranged between Hitler and Schuschnigg, his mission was finished—as was the life of Austria.

Von Papen's next job was his present one of ambassador to Turkey. He laid the groundwork for the Soviet-German pact of 1939, and found time to carry on half a dozen other conspiracies in different parts of Europe at the same time.

Von Papen is like the other Nazi leaders in many ways, but in one important characteristic, he differs from them. They base their actions on a fanatical belief in their cruel system. With von Papen, power and the pleasure of intriguing to get it are the driving forces. He has been aptly described as "an inveterate intriguer who enjoys conspiracy as a pleasurable recreation."



ACME

THE JAPANESE, like the Germans, have been brutalized by fascism. In one of the many relocation centers in this country, young Japanese-Americans put out their own newspaper.

Prisoners of War

ALTHOUGH the unparalleled scope of the present war has made suffering a common thing throughout the world, the news that Japan had tortured and killed war prisoners captured in the Philippine campaign came as a painful shock to all Americans. For Japan's disregard of the internationally established rules governing treatment of war prisoners represents the breakdown of a humanitarian code the world was long in achieving.

In ancient times, prisoners of war provided no problems. Captured enemies were killed or enslaved immediately. During the Middle Ages, a few were held for ransom. If their comrades could not bring enough treasure to satisfy the captors, they too were killed.

New Policy

With the growth of modern armies, there began a new policy toward prisoners. Considered the property of the king or emperor whose armies captured them, they were held for ransom at a series of fixed prices which the opposing forces had previously agreed upon. Later on, this practice was modified so that instead of an outright ransoming system, prisoners were released on an exchange basis.

The modern, humanitarian tradition started in the middle of the last century with the founding of Red Cross organizations which served on the battlefields, trying to ease the sufferings of the wounded. In 1864, a convention held at Geneva, Switzerland, established certain rules making hospitals, ambulances, and medical personnel out of bounds for attacking forces.

The next step came in 1899, when representatives of the great powers met in The Hague, Holland, to frame similar regulations governing treatment of prisoners. These first regulations were very simple, merely declaring that prisoners must be humanely treated. The Hague rules

stated that officers could not be required to work while in captivity, but that enlisted prisoners might be used for work which had no connection with war operations. The standard for maintaining the prisoners was to be the same as that for the captor's troops. Prisoners apprehended in attempts to escape were to be liable only to disciplinary punishment, while those who succeeded in getting back to their own armies and were later recaptured could not be punished for the previous escape. Of the prisoners, only one thing was required—to give their true name and rank to the capturing authority.

Most of the great powers and a majority of the smaller countries ratified these rules. In 1907, another conference was held at The Hague to amend the code on prisoners of war. In substantially the same form, the code stood through the First World War.

After the war, the International Red Cross came forward with suggestions for revising the rules on prisoners still further. Another conference was held, this time at Geneva, to rework them in the light of World War I experience. Signed by 42 nations, the Geneva Convention as it applies today came into being.

Some of the more important provisions of the agreement include: (1) Prisoners shall be treated the same as the captor's troops with regard to food, clothing, sanitation, and medical care. (2) As quickly as possible, belligerents must notify each other of names of prisoners captured with their official addresses. (3) Officers shall not be forced to work, and soldier prisoners who are used for work shall be paid according to rates fixed by agreement of the belligerents. (4) Prisoners may receive letters and packages containing food, clothing, or books; they may write a certain limited number of letters and postcards while in captivity. (5) Seriously injured prisoners must be returned to their own country as soon as they are in condition to be transported. Administration of these procedures was to be under the joint jurisdiction of the armies concerned and the International Red Cross.

In the First World War, these rules were fairly well observed. Some five to seven million prisoners were taken by both sides in the course of the conflict, the greater portion of them by Germany and the other Central Powers. In all the countries concerned, officer prisoners were well cared for. Toward the end of the conflict, however, there were serious complaints about German treatment of enlisted men in prison camps.

Some of the bad conditions reported from these camps were explainable in terms of shortages in Germany due to the British blockade. At times it was impossible to feed and



One of the many camps in the United States where German prisoners of war are kept

house large numbers of prisoners according to the standard set by the Geneva Convention. Other conditions, however, were less understandable. Cruel discipline was imposed by German authorities in some of the camps. Prisoners who were sent to work for private contractors were grievously underpaid.

The total number of prisoners taken in the present war has not been estimated because of the difficulties of getting accurate information on prisoners from the conquered territories. The total of Americans who are now held as prisoners of war, however, is estimated somewhere in the neighborhood of 50,000.

Britain's German and Italian prisoners are held in various parts of the empire. Those in Britain proper are confined in the Isle of Man, in the Irish Sea. Large numbers of German prisoners have been sent to Canada, where they are at work harvesting crops and performing other prescribed tasks. Many more British-held Germans are still in North Africa.

Prisoners in U. S.

More than 150,000 German and Italian prisoners of war have been brought to the United States since the beginning of the war. Most of these have been put to work—largely in easing the shortage of agricultural labor. Prisoners are moved from place to place with the harvest seasons to take the place of American workers who have gone into the Army or to work in war plants. Only a handful of Japanese prisoners have been taken by American forces in the course of the war. Most of these have been returned to the United States and interned in prison camps.

From all reports, the British, Americans, and Germans have been keeping to the rules of the Geneva Convention in handling each other's captured soldiers. Fearing reprisals, the Germans have fed, housed, and clothed their British and American prisoners moderately well. Through the Red Cross, the prisoners carry on correspondence with their families and receive books, food, and clothing.

Where Germany has no fear of reprisals, however, the situation is different. Polish, French, Yugoslav, and Russian soldiers captured by the Germans have fared very badly.

At the beginning of the war between the United States and Japan, the Japanese announced that they would abide by the rules of the Geneva Convention. But evidence of their good faith was not forthcom-

ing. No set rules were established for having prisoners communicate with their families in the United States—whether or not they were allowed to write home depended upon the individual prison camp commander. While information was scanty, it indicated that the Japanese were violating the rules as flagrantly as any nation had ever done. In spite of our knowledge that the Japanese are mistreating our prisoners, however, the United States adheres to the rules of the Geneva Convention.

♦ SMILES ♦

"What lovely salmon!"
"That's not salmon—that's cod blushing at the price they're asking for it."
—SELECTED

"Sit down in front."
"I can't. I don't bend that way."
—COLUMBIA JESTER



KATO IN SATURDAY EVENING POST

"I hear June's marrying a second lieutenant."
"Yeah, the first one got away."
—WALL STREET JOURNAL

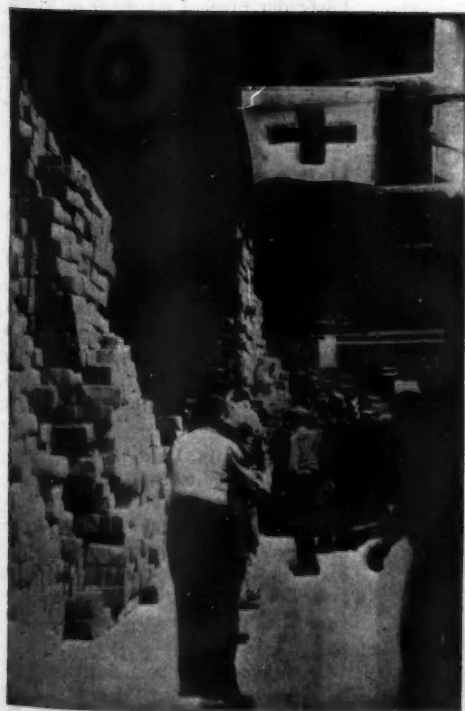
A soldier got a letter from his wife containing a sketch of their car's instrument panel. "This is the exact way the dashboard looks," she wrote. "Do we need a quart of oil?"—LIBERTY

When asked how business was, the Hollywood magnate replied: "Colossal! But it's improving."—UNION JACK

The bright young man of the family returned from his first day's work at a munitions factory with fingers bandaged. "My, Bert," said his father, "how's this?"
"Well," said the bright one, "the foreman said the machine was fool-proof. but I soon showed him."
—LABOR

On Norway's overcrowded trolley cars these days, the conductors no longer say, "Step back in the car." Instead they take great delight in giving the following advice to the passengers:
"Please retire according to plan."
—SELECTED

An American soldier who had been a contractor back home was spending a short leave in Egypt. When he got his first view of the Great Pyramid, he only said: "Boy! What a contract!"
—SELECTED



J. CADOUX, GENEVA

THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS, with headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland, is performing a heroic task in helping prisoners of war. Here huge piles of packages from the British Red Cross are stacked up at the railroad station at Geneva to be forwarded by the International Red Cross to British prisoners in Germany.

The Story of the Week



The position of the Marshall Islands in the Pacific theater

The Marshalls

The strategic northern islands of the Marshall group have now passed almost completely into American hands. Profiting by the experience of the previous campaign in the Gilberts, our forces began the attack with an overwhelming concentration of air power and the heaviest naval bombardment in history. As a result, they were able to win their first Japanese territory without disastrous losses.

The successful landings in the Marshalls mean several important advantages for our side. Important Japanese bases are now bottled up between our new positions on the northern atolls and our holdings in the Gilbert Islands to the south. Later on, American troops will be able to close in on them from two sides.

Also, conquest of the Marshall Islands will shorten our lines of communication and supply to the south and southwest Pacific, by permitting us to take a more direct route between the Hawaiian Islands and these theaters. In addition, the capture of these islands is a heavy threat to Truk, the base in the Caroline Islands which the Japanese have made the key to their whole system of island defenses.

In Rumania

In the First World War, the Rumanians played their cards well. Disregarding their commitments to the Central Powers on the grounds that they were pledged to aid only in a defensive war, they clung to neutrality until it became clear that the Allies were on the winning side. Then Rumania entered the war against the Central Powers.

Her reward was a territorial gain of immense proportions. From Austria-Hungary, Rumania got Transylvania and other lands. From Russia, she received Bessarabia and Moldavia. The end result was that Rumania after the First World War was about twice as large as she had been before.

But in the present conflict, Rumania has played a losing game. In the summer of 1940, Russia retook Bessarabia. Then the Germans awarded part of Rumania's eastern territories to the Hungarians. In

addition, the Nazis forced the Rumanian government to send large numbers of troops to Russia, where they suffered heavy losses. Torn by internal strife and a constantly heavier Gestapo oppression, the Rumanians could do little to help themselves.

Today, however, Rumania has a strong underground movement dedicated to resist and sabotage. The situation has become so serious that Premier Antonescu, pro-Nazi leader of the country, has had to turn over his authority almost completely to the Gestapo. Reports from the Balkans indicate that the Germans maintain what amounts to a state within a state in Rumania. But sabotage and threats against Antonescu continue. Also, large numbers of Rumanians are reported crossing the border to join Tito's anti-Nazi forces in Yugoslavia.

Finland's Position

Having sealed off Finland's last connection with the German army, the Russians are now concentrating new air attacks on the capital at Helsinki. Alone and exhausted by five years of unsuccessful fighting, the Finns now find themselves in an almost hopeless military position.

Politically, their position is little better. Germany, with her back to the wall on all fronts, can promise little hope for the future. Russia,

convinced that the satellite nations will fall automatically when Germany collapses, is making little effort to persuade them to withdraw from the war. Rather, she has concentrated on a series of military threats against those nations which do not sever their Axis connections.

The one thin hope which now sustains the Finns is for leniency from Britain and the United States. Recalling that Finland is not at war with the United States, the Finns also pin their hope on the fact that in the winter of 1939-40, when the Russians were marching against them, Britain and the United States were highly sympathetic. But the democracies have shown little interest in Finland's present plight. When the Finns asked for American arbitration to take them out of the war with Russia on a compromise, this country refused. Presumably, the Finns will have to do their settling with Russia, on Russian terms.

Nazi Home Front

The past year has been one of growing reverses for Hitler's armies. It has also been one of unprecedented air attacks on German cities. The combination has given the German people all the hardships of a steadily dropping standard of living.

Even before the great Allied air raids began, German production of civilian goods was at an all-time low. Manpower and materiel shortages left no room for the needs of the home front. Every available factory and worker was occupied with the making of war materials.

Now, however, the situation is so serious that, according to one German paper, many retail stores display their limited stock of goods with the stipulation, "For Air Raid Victims Only." In other words, things like clothing and household goods are so scarce that only those who have lost everything in the bombings can have them.

Advertisements in German newspapers indicate that people are bartering to obtain the things they need. Coats, shoes, and blankets are the items would-be exchangers most frequently seek. Where prices are quoted, it is clear that Germany is suffering under an inflationary price structure. For example, in one advertisement, a used wool dress was

offered for sale at a price which would equal about 48 American dollars—only a little less than the average monthly wage of a German woman war worker.

Taxes

Those who agree with the administration point of view on taxes—that because of mounting war costs and the danger of inflation there must be a substantial rise in federal levies—are disappointed with the new tax law. Calling the President's demand for a \$10,500,000,000 program of new taxes too heavy a burden on the American people, Congress passed a new tax bill which will add only \$2,315,000,000 to the national revenue.

But protests against the action of Congress have not come from the Democratic side alone. Wendell Willkie, spokesman for one wing of the Republican party, recently came



BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICE

DEADLY WEAPON. The new Piat gun, Canada's and Britain's new antitank weapon, fires a 3-inch shell capable of piercing 4-inch armor. It is now in use on the Italian fronts.

out in favor of an even larger tax program than the one President Roosevelt advocated. What Willkie calls for is a tax program which will add 16 billion dollars to the national tax load.

His reason is not only the danger of inflation. He fears also that if taxes are not raised now, we will be so burdened with debt after the war that the economy will be unable to function. While high taxes now may lower our present standard of living, he feels that they will save our future standard of living. It is unfair, he argues, for us to leave our obligations for returning servicemen to meet after the war.

Unifying the Commonwealth

Two prominent British spokesmen have recently outlined proposals for the formation of a strong bloc of nations with Britain as its center. South Africa's Premier Smuts suggested that the smaller democracies of western Europe, such as Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway, band together with Britain as an economic and political unit.

More recently, Lord Halifax, British ambassador to the United States, suggested that new steps be taken to draw the nations of the British Commonwealth closer together. Under his proposal, Britain and the dominions would frame their foreign policies and plan their economic life through a central authority.

These ideas have been best received in Australia and New Zealand, where plans are already under way for a permanent secretariat through which the two countries will deal with problems of the South Pacific area. Spokesmen for the Belgians and



INLAND SHIPYARD. Built on waste land, 1,000 miles from the sea, the Evansville, Indiana, shipbuilding plant of the Missouri Valley Bridge and Iron Company has been credited with producing a greater tonnage of ocean-going vessels in 1943 than any other inland shipyard of the world.

Dutch have also indicated interest in such a scheme. In Canada, however, there has been a colder reception. The Canadians claim that they are too deeply involved with the United States and Russia to bind themselves to Britain alone. What they advocate is an international organization embracing all countries for purposes of mutual cooperation.

Japanese Home Front

Sacrifice and a lowered standard of living are as much a part of total war for the Japanese as for their German partners. Through Japanese broadcasts and press releases, the Office of War Information has learned that this year's budget, the largest in Japanese history, amounts to about 51 billion yen, or nearly 12 billion American dollars.

To help cover the cost of this record expense plan, the Japanese people will have to pay 13 billion yen (more than three billion dollars in our money) in taxes. A war savings program amounting to the equivalent of eight billion dollars will help cover the rest of the budget. It has been estimated that this means a contribution of about \$105 from each of the 105,000,000 people in Japan, a heavy burden in a country where living standards were already extremely low even before the war.

War bond sales in Japan are nominally on a voluntary basis. However, strong measures are taken to make sure each person in the country purchases as many bonds as the government wants him to. Pressure is exerted through the Imperial Rule Association—the totalitarian party. This organization maintains "neighborhood associations" and "good neighbor clubs" to check on the people of each block in a city or town. Since the party is all-powerful, few people dare to refuse any contributions its agents ask.

Action Against Spain

For some time now, Spanish neutrality has been recognized as a pretense through which Spain could aid the Axis and yet ward off punishment by the Allies. Recently, however, our State Department protested the flagrant violations of Spanish neutrality and, in reprisal, cut off February oil shipments to Spain from the Caribbean area.

This has hit Spain hard. The resulting fuel shortage has forced the government to order all private automobiles and motorcycles off the streets. It has also demonstrated to the Spanish people that they can no



INVASION LEADERS. General Dwight D. Eisenhower holds a conference in London with members of his staff. Left to right, seated: Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder, deputy supreme commander; General Eisenhower; General Sir Bernard L. Montgomery, commander-in-chief of British land armies; left to right, standing: Lt. Gen. Omar N. Bradley, commander of American ground forces; Sir Bertram Ramsay, naval commander-in-chief; Air Marshal Trafford L. Leigh-Mallory, air commander-in-chief; and Lt. Gen. Walter B. Smith, chief of staff.

longer safely affront the United Nations.

General Franco's first move after the American order went into effect was to restate Spain's neutral position. At present, his representatives are negotiating with American officials to try to work out some compromise. This new development has alarmed the Germans as greatly as it has the Spaniards. Close on the heels of the American action has come a new flood of Nazi propaganda emphasizing the bond between Spain and Germany. In addition, a fresh influx of Gestapo agents is reported in several of the major Spanish cities.

Rehabilitating the Injured

Every branch of the service now has its rehabilitation centers—hospitals, convalescent homes, and rest centers where injured fighting men are restored to health and competence. Through them, thousands of casualties are able to return to the battle fronts or to find useful work in civilian life.

Their miracles of reconditioning are brought about in a number of ways. Besides treatment for their wounds, injured veterans are given special courses of exercise, work, and training. Wherever necessary, artificial limbs are provided and men taught to use them. Then there are courses to prepare the injured man for some new occupation which will fit in with his limitations.

In the Army Air Force, rehabilitation is especially important. Because of the particularly nerve-racking type of service the airman performs, he is often in need of reconditioning even though he may be physically unscarred. Along with its hospitals for the wounded, the Army Air Force maintains a number of "redistribution centers," where fatigued veterans can forget the tensions of combat in an interlude of peace and pleasant living.

At such points as Miami Beach and Atlantic City, the Air Force owns luxurious hotels. Here battle-weary flyers can relax or exercise as they please during a 10-day vacation. While they are at the redistribution center, doctors and psychiatrists carefully check their health and mental attitudes to determine whether or not they can be sent back to the fronts. At the end of the rest period, men may be sent back to their old

posts; they may be transferred to a new type of duty; or they may be released into civilian life.

Hawaii's Role

In 1941, Pearl Harbor came into the war as Japan's first American target. In 1942, most of our western Pacific bases were taken by the enemy and it became a vital defense



Overdoing it
CARMACK IN C. S. MONITOR

outpost. Today, though Allied gains in the Pacific have made it once more a behind-the-lines base, it is still important to our Far Eastern strategy.

Perhaps the most important military and naval base in the world, it is headquarters for Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Pacific Fleet, and for General Robert C. Richardson, Jr., who commands all Army units in the central Pacific as well. At Pearl Harbor, much of our Pacific strategy is planned. Here and in the other Hawaiian Islands, the tactics which will make it work are tried out.

Pearl Harbor is a busy transmission point for arms and men on their way to the Pacific battle fronts. It is the scene of their last processing before combat duty and also of their final training. Because the islands of the Hawaiian group are so much like those where fighting is now going on, they provide an ideal staging area for last-minute maneuvers. Amphibious landings, jungle warfare, and all the other special features of war in the Orient are rehearsed. Experiments are made with new tactics and equipment.

News Quiz of the Week

1. How many of the 16 Soviet republics have been added to the Soviet Union since the outbreak of World War II? Name as many of them as you can.
2. Why are the British and Americans concerned over the move to grant greater independence to the various republics?
3. What effect might this move have upon Russia's position at the peace conference?
4. How might this device be used to extend Russia's influence throughout Europe after the war?
5. Name the three different groups of people in the United States who make it difficult to formulate a sound foreign policy.
6. What are the main provisions of the Eastland-Rankin Bill?
7. How does this measure differ from the Lucas-Green Bill?
8. On what grounds is the constitutionality of the Lucas-Green Bill challenged?
9. Why do certain opponents of this measure claim that it would favor the reelection of President Roosevelt?
10. Why are the Army and the Navy opposed to the bill passed by the House of Representatives?
11. What change has the State Department made in our policy toward Spain?
12. What is Truk and where is it located?
13. How does the International Red Cross figure in the treatment of prisoners of war?
14. What position has Wendell L. Willkie taken on the question of federal taxation?
15. What type of gun is the Piat gun?

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The American Observer

Published weekly throughout the year (except Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Easter holidays, and three issues from the middle of August to the first week in September) by the Civic Education Service, 744 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$1 a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester. For a term shorter than a semester the price is 3 cents a week.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, 6, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Weekly News Review
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The Young Citizen
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Suppose you had to get there the hard way
FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Allies Concerned over Recent Soviet Moves

(Concluded from page 1)

the outside world can offer little criticism.

But many people in America and England fear that it is a device to accomplish more than the inclusion of the disputed territories which lie on the fringe of the Soviet Union. They point out that other regions, lying close to Russia, may be induced to join the larger federation after the war, or even before. What is there to prevent Yugoslavia or Bulgaria, for example, to become the seventeenth or eighteenth republic of the large Soviet federation? Governments friendly to Russia might indeed be established in those countries

United States in matters being decided by an international body. Thus, Moscow may have figured that in granting greater independence to the republics of the Soviet Union, its position in the postwar world would be greatly strengthened because it would control not one vote, but 16. It is pointed out, on the other hand, that the number of votes a nation controls is of little importance in determining its influence in international matters. That influence is determined by the nation's power, and Russia's influence will be great in the postwar world by virtue of this fact and not by virtue of her control

of issues which have not been settled among the British, Americans, and Russians. There is still uncertainty as to the policies which each of the three major powers will follow after the war. The Russians are not certain that the United States will enter wholeheartedly into an international organization after the war, will commit itself to use force, if necessary, to curb aggression in the future. Despite congressional resolutions of a general nature, there is still uncertainty as to the extent to which this country will cooperate with the rest of the world after the war.

At the same time, the Russians

this country who make the formulation of a satisfactory foreign policy, difficult. First, there are those who, for various reasons, are more interested in Russia than in their own country. No matter what Russia does, they always have a ready excuse and explanation. They want the United States to fall immediately into line with whatever the Soviet government does.

The second group of extremists are those who are so anti-Russian that they are suspicious of everything the Russians do. They see a sinister plot behind every Soviet move. These people do not like the idea of cooperation with Russia under any circumstances. They have their feet braced about working with Russia to win the war and are opposed to any attempt at cooperation after the war.

Another group of Americans, perhaps the largest, is composed of those who despair of finding a solution to our present problems. They are the defeatists. Whenever a difficulty arises in our relations with Russia, they see it as a sign that the capitalist countries cannot find a basis for cooperation with communist Russia. They go even farther and despair of any good coming out of the war. Some of them are likely to go so far as to say that we should have stayed out of the war.

Difficulties Ahead

Unquestionably it is going to be very difficult to insure permanent peace after the war; perhaps as difficult as it will be to win the war itself. Perhaps the machinery for permanent peace cannot be established because of a falling out among the United Nations. It should be the purpose of every sane person to work for a program which will make permanent peace possible after the war.

Whether that goal is achieved or not, it must be remembered that had we not entered the war, we might well have been destroyed as a nation through an attack from the victorious Germans on the one side and the Japanese on the other. By winning the war, we shall have at least freed ourselves from what was an immediate and a deadly peril.

That is what nations have been doing all through history. Time and again, nations have fought wars to survive, and have survived because they won the wars. We are now fighting a war for survival, and if the United Nations hold together, we shall win it. That in itself is a great victory for this generation.

If, in addition to that, the United Nations can find the means to hold together and establish peace on a permanent basis, they will have achieved an added victory, the greatest victory ever won in all the history of mankind.

There is hope, despite all the alarms of the moment, despite all the difficulties we have met and will meet, that this result can be achieved. It will be achieved if people everywhere subject emotion to reason, if they hold fast to the purpose which is in their hearts, if they keep in mind the great goal and never allow themselves to be swerved from it by relatively minor obstacles and difficulties which may appear on the road.



The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
FROM "AN ATLAS OF THE USSR," BY JOSEPH H. STENBRIDGE—OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

and they might be induced to join the federation.

In this way, Russia would be able to extend her influence over all of eastern Europe, and perhaps beyond. It is by no means certain that Russia has such ambitious plans in mind, but the prospect is causing the other members of the United Nations no little concern.

Another interpretation which has been placed upon Moscow's latest act is that it was taken to give Russia greater power at the peace conference and in the postwar councils. The Russians may figure that both the United States and England would control more than one vote in any organization established after the war to preserve the peace and deal with international problems.

England has not only her own vote but ordinarily controls the votes of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa. While these dominions are indeed independent nations they are members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and are likely to act as a unit in international affairs. In the old League of Nations they stood together and they are likely to do so in whatever organization is established after the war.

The Russians may figure that the United States is also in a position to control more votes than its own. Certainly all the nations of Central America and those of northern South America would go along with the

of a large number of individual votes.

Whatever action the Moscow government may take in granting greater independence to the various republics of the Soviet Union, there is little doubt that the central government will still dominate and control the basic policies of all the republics. For one thing the Russian Soviet Federated Soviet Republic, which contains the heart of Russia, contains nearly 70 per cent of the population and nearly three-fourths of the territory of the Union, and is thus in a position to determine the policies of the others on all important matters. Moreover, it is the Communist party which is the controlling influence throughout the Soviet Union and the influence of the party has in no way been lessened as a result of the decentralization move.

Does this latest action of the Soviet Union mean that the Russians will not cooperate in a world organization to preserve peace after the war? Most observers feel that it does not necessarily mean that. The Russians may feel that the territory in eastern Europe which lies on the fringes of the Union is rightfully theirs since it was part of Russia before the First World War and that they will brook no interference in determining its future status. At the same time, they may feel disposed to cooperate with the other United Nations in an organization to preserve peace.

Despite the pledges and assurances given at the Moscow and the Teheran conferences, there are still a number

cannot be certain of future British policy. Britain's historic policy has been the balance of power in Europe; that is, she has undertaken to prevent any one nation from becoming too strong on the continent. When one nation or group of nations has become too powerful, Britain has lent her support to the weaker nation or group. The Russians may now feel that after the war, Britain will seek to strengthen the nations of western Europe in such a way as to counteract the great Soviet power in the east. The Russians cannot be certain that the United States and Great Britain will not undertake to set up and support anti-Soviet governments in western Europe, the Balkans, and elsewhere on the continent.

The British and Americans, for their part, are completely in the dark as to Russia's future intentions. Russia's unwillingness to discuss the problem of her western boundaries has intensified the suspicion that she may not be willing to work harmoniously with them in the solution of the many difficult and complex problems that will arise after the war.

This uncertainty about the action which each of the three major powers will take after the war is serious and is one of the causes of the present difficulties and misunderstandings. The problem is intensified, in the United States, by the conflicting attitudes which prevail among the American people themselves. There are various classes of extremists in

Soldiers' Vote Hotly Discussed

(Concluded from page 1)

the respective states. The secretary of state sends these postcard applications to the proper county or city election officials.

The local election officials then send the ballots containing the names of all candidates who will appear in the November ballot to the men from those particular election districts. It is recommended that the ballots be sent to the soldiers at least 45 days before the November election so that the soldiers will have time to get their ballots back and have them counted.

The Eastland-Rankin Bill takes account of the fact that, as the state laws stand today, some states could not send their ballots to their servicemen 45 days in advance of the election because the candidates for state office will not have been nominated that long before the election. In such cases the Eastland-Rankin Bill recommends that the states change their election laws immediately so that their primaries or nominating conventions can come earlier.

After the soldiers receive their ballots, they can vote for all officers just as they would if they were at home. The ballots are sent home and counted in the local election precincts just as absentee ballots are now counted.

In favor of this bill it is argued that it leaves the elections in the hands of the states just as they have always been. No constitutional difficulties are involved. The state and local officials decide whether the serviceman who has made application for a ballot is a qualified voter. Furthermore, according to this plan, the serviceman will have a chance to vote for local and state as well as national candidates.

Several arguments are made



"It says here that we may be allowed to vote."

HERLOCK © FIELD PUBLICATIONS

against this plan. First, it is pointed out that some of the states make no provision for absentee voting, and a state which does not provide for sending ballots away to citizens who are absent at the time of the election would not send ballots to the soldiers and sailors.

Second, as has already been stated, many of the states do not do their nominating early enough so that they can send their ballots to the soldiers in time for them to get their ballots back and have them counted. The bill, indeed, recommends that such states change their laws, but many of the states will not do so. It is said that only 17 states have scheduled legislative sessions to change their election laws. It is argued, therefore, that the Eastland-Rankin Bill, though pretending to give the soldiers a vote, actually would not do so.

It is argued further that this plan is cumbersome and could not actually operate. It is said that the Army and Navy, which are already far behind in the delivery of mail to and from servicemen abroad, could not possibly distribute, collect, and mail back applications for absentee ballots and then distribute and collect and send back the state ballots themselves. The job of locating each soldier and giving him the right ballot (that is, the ballot from his own precinct), it is argued, would be an insuperable task.

Lucas-Green Bill

The other plan, the so-called Federal Plan, was introduced into the Senate by Senators Lucas of Illinois and Green of Rhode Island, and into the House of Representatives by Representative Worley of Texas. This plan does not pretend to give the soldiers a vote on state and local candidates, but provides a simple way by which they can vote for federal officials; that is, for the president, senators, and representatives.

This plan provides that blank ballots be distributed to servicemen wherever they may be. Each serviceman may write on the ballot his choice for president, and also his choice for senator for his home state (if a senator is to be elected this year), and his preference for congressman in his home district. If he does not know who the candidates for these offices are, he may merely write the name of the political party whose candidate he favors.

Each serviceman's ballot is then collected by the Army officers and sent back to the proper state. The secretary of state of that state then sends the ballots to the local election

districts where they are counted. Since this plan does not call, necessarily, for the name of the candidate (merely that of the party for which the serviceman wishes to vote), the ballots can be distributed in plenty of time so that they can get back and be counted when the other ballots are counted.

For the Plan

In favor of this plan it is argued that it is simple, it is easy to administer, the ballots can be handled by the Army and the Navy without overburdening the mail, it gives assurance that the men may all have the chance to vote for national officials. The plan provides that if a state sees fit to make proper provisions so that its citizens in the services can vote for state and local officials, it may do so. Meanwhile, Congress makes provision for voting for national officials.

One of the chief arguments against this plan is that it is unconstitutional. A heated debate rages over this matter of constitutionality. The Constitution, Article 1, Section 4, Clause 1, declares that "the time, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations except as to the places of choosing senators." The constitutional question is as to whether Congress has the right to set aside laws that states may have made about the holding of elections and substitute a provision as to how citizens who have been taken away from their homes for military service may vote.

It should be noted that this plan does not undertake to give Congress the power of deciding what the qualifications of voters shall be. When the ballots are sent back to the states, the local officials are to look them over and decide whether the voters are qualified to vote under state laws. If, for example, the state has a law providing that one must pay a poll tax before he can vote, it may throw out the vote of a soldier who has not paid his poll tax.

Nevertheless, the question about constitutionality has been raised and some people consider this very serious. They say that if this plan were adopted, certain states might refuse to count the votes of the soldiers sending in their ballots. The issue as to whether they should be counted might then go into the courts. Meanwhile, if the election were close, the election of the president might hinge on whether the soldiers' votes in cer-

tain states were counted. We might, therefore, have a contested election, with the country not knowing who was elected president until the courts acted on the constitutionality of the laws. It is said that this would be a very dangerous thing for the country at a time when popular passions were aroused.

Another argument against the Federal Plan is that it would work to the advantage of President Roosevelt if he should be a candidate for reelection. It is argued that he is naturally better known than the Republican candidate would be. If the soldiers had merely to write in the name of their choice for president, they would be more likely to write "Roosevelt," especially since he is Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

It will be seen that the problem is very complex and that there are reasonable and logical arguments on each side. There are also partisan and sectional considerations which have great weight. For example, many Republicans take note of the fact that President Roosevelt heretofore has been especially strong with young voters, whereas the Republicans have been stronger with older men and women. It is thought by many people that a majority of the soldiers and sailors, most of whom are young, would vote for the President. Hence, many Democrats, it is charged, are so anxious for a plan which will make it easy for the servicemen to vote that they disregard constitutionality in order to get such a plan. It is charged also that many Republicans who fear that they

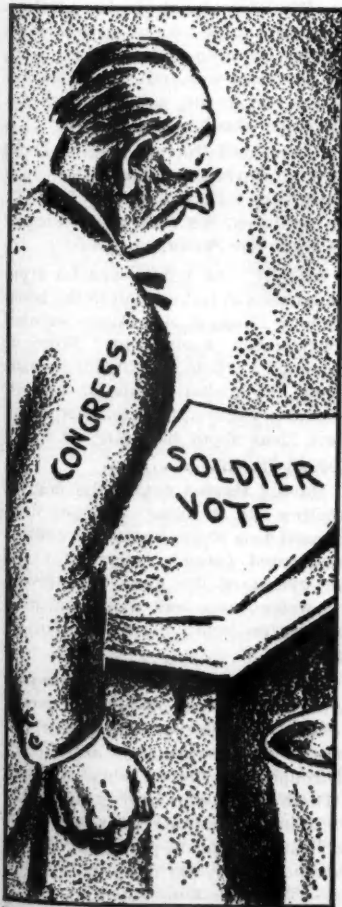


Passing the ammunition
TALBOTT IN WASHINGTON NEWS

would be at a disadvantage in the elections are putting obstacles in the way of soldiers voting.

The sectional issue comes up in this way: In a number of southern states, there are laws which make it difficult for Negroes to vote. Many of the southern congressmen are insisting upon keeping these provisions. They are afraid of any step which would tend to give the federal government power over voting, for they think that this would break down the barriers to voting by Negroes.

If, however, we discard all partisan and sectional considerations, the fact remains that the providing of means whereby the soldiers and sailors may be given a vote in the coming election, with assurance that the vote will be counted, is extremely difficult and complex. Along with the angry, unreasonable, and partisan arguments, there are thoughtful and reasonable arguments on both sides of this sharp and contested issue, and such arguments call for serious consideration by all citizens.



Still on his desk
LITTLE IN NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN

Facts About Magazines

Quarterlies

LAST week, in discussing *Foreign Affairs*, this department of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER turned from the popular, mass-circulation magazines found on every newsstand to a different type of publication—the serious quarterly, published four times a year for a limited list of subscribers. This week we present two others of this variety—*The Virginia Quarterly* and *The Yale Review*.

Although these magazines share a number of characteristics with *Foreign Affairs*, they also differ from it in certain important respects. While *Foreign Affairs* is a specialized publication, restricting its coverage largely to one field, these two are general, embracing a wide range of different topics. While *Foreign Affairs* is issued by a small research organiza-

tion in Washington agencies and bureaus at the present time.

Walter Millis, author of *The Road to War* and *Why Europe Fights*, stresses the need for electing a President who will be able to build on the already established foundations for ordered international relations and a prosperous and sound economic life at home. Millis' article goes on to analyze the leading contenders for the presidential nomination and the strength and weakness of each.

In addition, the current issue of *The Virginia Quarterly* contains several poems and its usual collection of book reviews. Besides discussing books on world affairs, this section considers new poetry, novels, and plays.

Among the 10 articles in the winter issue of *The Yale Review*, three of the most notable are Arnold Wolfers' "In Defense of Small Countries," "The Unknown Soldier and the Ideal of Honor," by T. V. Smith, and "Why Should Cancer Interest Us?" by Charles Oberling.

A number of poems, two short stories, and an extensive list of book reviews round out *The Yale Review*. As many prominent names appear among the reviews as elsewhere in the magazine. Writers who discuss current literature in this issue include Louis Untermeyer, Hugh Byas, Fletcher Pratt, and James Truslow Adams.

The Virginia Quarterly has been in existence for 19 years; *The Yale Review* for 33. Both magazines are run by members of the university faculty which sponsors them. Helen MacAfee is editor of *The Yale Review*, while Charlotte Kohler has stepped in to replace Lieutenant Archibald Bolling Shepperson as editor of *The Virginia Quarterly*.

Another magazine similar to these two is *The Southern Review*, published by Louisiana State University. Especially known for its high quality fiction and poetry, it is edited by novelist Robert Penn Warren.

The quarterlies are not light reading. Often the type of discussion they present is beyond the level of the average person. But, as representatives of the highest quality American thought and writing they are publications the student should recognize.

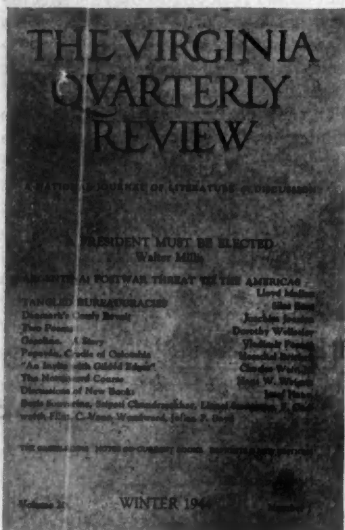
tion, these two are sponsored by universities—the University of Virginia for *The Virginia Quarterly* and Yale for *The Yale Review*.

The material presented in *The Virginia Quarterly* and *The Yale Review* includes articles on economic problems, international relations, political questions, and developments in the arts. Both publications print poetry, short stories, and book reviews, in addition to articles. The roster of their contributors covers many of the famous names in American thought and writing.

A glance at the winter issues of *The Virginia Quarterly* and *The Yale Review* illustrates this. The half dozen articles in *The Virginia Quarterly* include an article by foreign correspondent Lloyd Mallan on the subject of "Argentina: Postwar Threat to the Americas;" "Tangled Bureaucracies," by Silas Bent, and "A President Must Be Elected," by Walter Millis.

The first of these is an analysis of just where Argentina stands in her relations to the United States—why cooperation with the United Nations has been reluctantly given up to now, and what may be expected from the Argentine people after the war is over.

The second article, written by a writer who specializes in biography and history, is an explanation of some of the confused hierarchies which compose our government's administrative agencies. Bent finds a dangerous concentration of authority



THE YALE REVIEW

A National Quarterly

WINTER 1944

Race in the World to Come
In Defense of the Small Countries
Two Poems
The Unknown Soldier and the Ideal of Honor
The Japanese Emperor
A Song Written in the Family, A Story
Mexico's Unity
Why Should Cancer Interest Us?
Abyssinian Memories
Is England in Retrospect?
Remorse of a Sin: A Story
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Alexander P. de Seversky

Alexander de Seversky

MILITARY aviation first became a controversial subject in the middle 1920's. In 1925, Billy Mitchell, hard-driving, plain-spoken Army Air Force officer, was court-martialed and dismissed for his tactless championing of air power as a leading military weapon.

Events have long since proved that Mitchell was right about most of what he said, and the public which once despised him has now set him up as a kind of martyr hero. But recognition of Billy Mitchell's rightness has not ended the controversy. A host of new questions have arisen on just how far we may count on air power to win our battles.

A key figure in the debate is Alexander P. de Seversky, ace of World War I, plane designer, author, and columnist on the all-out use of military planes. Disciple of Billy Mitchell, de Seversky is quite as forthright and single-minded as the earlier prophet of air power—and quite as good at stirring up disputes.

While most people are willing to admit that de Seversky offered some valuable ideas in his book, *Victory Through Air Power*, few are content to leave their judgments at that. Some go on to insist that he is a genius, misunderstood because his ideas are ahead of popular prejudice. Others call him an impossible extremist—a man who is so wrapped up in a single idea that his judgment is far off balance.

When the First World War started, de Seversky became an aviator. Early in the war, his plane was shot down and he lost a leg. But his career was far from finished. In less than a year, he was back in the air, fitted with an artificial limb. Before Russia withdrew from the war, he had shot down 13 German planes and won every honor his country bestowed.

When the Red Revolution started, de Seversky was on his way to the United States as a member of an aviation commission. Arriving, he decided to make his home in this country. He became, first, test pilot and then consulting engineer for the United States Air Service. Before long, he was Billy Mitchell's right-hand man, designing aviation equipment and experimenting with new types of aircraft.

Mitchell arranged for the United States government to buy some 300

patent claims de Seversky had worked out. With the \$50,000 he received de Seversky started an enterprise of his own—the Seversky Aero Corporation. Immediately he was at work on new inventions: landing gears for use on land, water, and ice, special wing flaps, new methods of structural design.

But de Seversky's supply of business acumen was as small as his creative talents were large. The company failed. In 1931, he started another, with the backing of Wall Street financiers. For three years, he experimented on new planes. Then a few government contracts came his way. But this company, too, was unsuccessful financially.

In 1939, the directors of the corporation eased de Seversky out of his post as president. Soon they had changed the name of the company to Republic Aviation Corporation. Although the new organization quickly began to show its first profits, de Seversky was indignant. He began a series of suits against the directors who had ousted him.

It was his failure to regain his old position through these suits which made him turn to writing. In 1942, he published his first book, *Victory Through Air Power*.

Although the public was far from unanimous in its reaction to the book, *Victory Through Air Power* created considerable excitement. From it stemmed a whole new line of thought about the global nature of modern warfare. From it, too, stemmed many new ideas about how our air forces should be used.

Having started out in the field of writing, de Seversky did not limit himself to a single book. He wrote a syndicated column interpreting the air events of the war. In addition, he wrote more and more magazine articles on improving our use of air power.

Today de Seversky is still occupied with trying to put over his air power ideas. His point of view about his work was expressed in *Victory Through Air Power* when he said, "Those of us who have grasped the meaning of genuine air power have a clear function to perform. It is to hammer away, day and night even at the risk of making ourselves a nuisance, at the mind and conscience of our country."

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